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away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained.

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Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Hinatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held.

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These beliefs were found in Hinatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Matsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources.

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One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting."

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Matsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Hinatogawa represent differences in the rural culture.

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolising happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday.

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At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived.

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The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school.

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But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around

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854 wherever the mother goes. The age at which this begins varies, some saying 20 days, others two months. But on the average, it probably is about one month.

[171] [482] This custom, known as onbu in Japanese, is identical with the practice in rural Japan. The child is strapped on by crossing the sash in front of the mother, crisscrossing it above the baby's buttocks, and then bringing the binding around the mother's waist where the sash is securely tied in front. In the summer, the child may only wear a diaper-like garment. The child is carried on the back until he begins to walk. But there is often a long transition period, and the child is carried at times long after he has learned to walk, perhaps until he is 3 years of age. I have seen boys of 4 still being carried on the mother's back.

At one time or another, the infant is carried by every member of the family physically able to do so, the child accommodating itself effortlessly to the activities of his elder. Its longest continual contact is with the mother. A mother does most of her chores with the child on her back. The child is with her when she is scrubbing the plank floors on her knees, carrying in firewood, building a fire, cooking, when she is turning the quern to make bean curd, shopping, or doing the laundry. If occasion requires, she unstraps the child, changes the diaper-like cloth, for diapers are unusual, and allows it to sleep a while on the thick comforter.

[857] When school is out, the mother may get a rest. The baby is taken over by the eldest girl. In communities where there are many girls, few young boys are seen carrying their young brothers or sisters, although carrying by boys is very common in the absence of elder sisters. Sometimes older children begin so young that they look small under the load of a fat or plump baby. In the fishing village, a father might walk around in the evening either with the child strapped on his back, or if the child is big enough, he puts his arms around the father's neck and his legs around the father's waist. Occasionally in the agricultural villages, a father carries a small child around in his work basket. The basket is tied to the end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. Children enjoy this.

[859] Children who carry the babies around do not allow this to interfere with their activities. They play games, such as tag, hide and seek, and a kind of hop scotch. They walk surefootedly along the sharp, and often dangerous, coral rocks of the seashore, along narrow hill or mountain paths, wherever inclination leads them.

The ability of the infant child to sleep under these circumstances is remarkable. Once the child is strapped on the back, he is given little further attention. He seldom cries unless in discomfort. Most often he goes to sleep. His head in sleep frequently falls at right angles with the shoulders, and he sleeps like this while his mother

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles.

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life.

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hasukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults.

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this theses was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginosa village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak
● [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a
157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or
621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still
[632] remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in
[206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A
[167] second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

[1] [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira.

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease.

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained.

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.
[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta*, a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

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Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

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Woman transplanting.

Carrying wood.

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[p 456-B]

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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

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Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

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Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

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Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

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[P 456-D]

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health.

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child.

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us."

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,' " he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully.

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the

845 mother and family. "Nursing two babies at once on a diet as meager as ours is too difficult," explain the mothers, and they also point out that multiple births cause great economic hardships.

854 Infancy in Taira, in congruence with the concept of the nature of an infant, is a period of indulgent and affectionate nurturance. Except for a brief period during the initial month of life, the baby is rarely left to lie on the floor to sleep, and during this period the mother or grandmother is always close by to pick him up at the slightest whimper. From the time he is a month old until shortly before the arrival of the next baby, he is constantly carried during the daytime on the back of another, an adult or an older child. At night he sleeps next to his mother. His carriers include parents, paternal grandparents, unmarried aunts and uncles, older siblings in an extended household, and parents and older siblings in a nuclear household.

854 178 853 Those mothers who have read or heard that it is good for babies to cry occasionally never have an opportunity to test it. "The old people feel sorry for the baby and insist upon prompt attention," complain young mothers with "modern" ideas. The immediate response of adult and child caretakers to an infant's cry is to take him to his mother, who promptly nurses him. The breast is thrust into his mouth whether he is hungry or not. "Pitiful!" exclaim old grandmothers and rush to pick up the infant. More often than not it is the newborn's father or older sibling who orders the mother to do so with the same expression.

854 853 There is the belief that the first four months are a trying period in which the "bad" habit of crying is formed; therefore every attempt is made to keep the infant comfortable and quiet. One mother described how she and her husband took turns eating their evening meal because one of the children had formed such a bad habit. "We would take turns carrying him and walking around the yard and eating. There was nothing else we could do. Both of us did not like to have babies cry." Another mother told of how her whole family converged on her every time the infant whimpered. "Hurry and nurse it . . . must be hungry . . . may be sick . . . so pitiful!" they would say to her.

853 [262] It is imperative that a mother have enough milk. She is given special foods and told not to get overtired. She is advised to avoid foods that could pass on properties which might be harmful to the child. Sometimes she has more milk than her infant can consume. One such fortunate mother nursed the baby of a mother whose milk supply had failed. Women who have a plentiful supply of milk are also sought out when mothers find it necessary to work at some distance from the village. In these cases reciprocal arrangements are made so the baby need not go hungry for very long.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

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fields and away from the village, the young caretaker jiggles up and down to soothe the baby on his back. As his cries become frantic, the caretaker's peers will pat him on his buttocks and try to placate him by guiding his fingers to his mouth.

For the nuclear family with no other caretaker except the mother, the newborn proves to be a problem. One such mother complained that she could not do anything efficiently with a baby on her back. She was able to go to the fields to harvest potatoes but had to leave the laden basket until the afternoon to carry it home, for at that time the neighbor's child returned from school to look after the baby. In payment for baby-sitting services she had planned on buying the neighbor's child a dress for the next New Year.

In the nuclear family with school age children, the mother works around the house and in the nearby fields in the morning and rushes off to the mountains when her relief returns in the middle of the afternoon. Thus the infant which brought so much joy to the family and gave its mother respite from the rigorous routine for a short time becomes somewhat of a burden to all. Nevertheless, the baby continues to be indulged, pitied for his helplessness, and the object of affection.

It is important to note, briefly, the father's attitude and behavior during this initial period. Although only females were born during this study, interviews suggest that a male birth elicits a somewhat more solicitous behavior on the part of the father toward both mother and infant than a female one. The father will discourage the mother's early resumption of work and may even feel encouraged to carry the male infant despite the fact that children are deemed "women's work." Ostensibly, however, he seems embarrassed and disinterested in the whole matter be it a male or female. Congratulating visitors find that after a few polite exchanges the father will retire to a corner in the house as attention focuses on mother and child. After sitting out what seems a proper length of time, he will mumble some excuse or other and leave the house to do some chore. The observer visiting the household on the occasion of the birth of a fourth daughter found gloom and disgust in the father's expression. A male visitor who sat trying to convince the father that daughters are quite useful, too, received only contemptuous stares. His wife sat dejectedly holding the infant loosely in her arms. In contrast, a visit of the same purpose to another household on the birth of a fourth daughter revealed similar but notably less intense reactions on the part of the father. Perhaps because of the existence of one male heir he felt less threatened.

There is a tenacious belief in Taira that the female determines the sex of the child. If the woman fails to produce a male heir, the man

841 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit, for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the
857 other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
854 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a
522 household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
857 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
854 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother, winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister
857 for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
854 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school, she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience. This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

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frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

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855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

[262] If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to another painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 757 854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

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[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older. This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

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863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

herself from head to toe when she had left her diaperless on the floor for a few minutes. She had assumed that the child had completed elimination and had gone out to rinse the soiled diaper. 863

When the infant is anywhere from 22 days to 10 months old, the mothers start trying to anticipate urination before the baby wets his diapers. Each mother trains herself to her child's particular cues, squirming, peculiar facial expressions, and so on, or keeps a kind of mental time check. Holding the infant in a semisitting position out over the edge of the porch, and supporting him under his knees with her hands and at his back with her chest, she coaxes gently, repeating "shi-shi" until he urinates onto the ground outside. If the mother is successful in her efforts, she hugs, kisses, and praises the infant. On the other hand, if she does not reach him in time and he is already wet, she will hold the child over the wet diaper and say "shi-shi." This is to ensure that he has fully eliminated, or if the interval between diaper checks has been long, to make certain that he does not need to urinate again before putting on a fresh change. In these instances she does not praise unless the infant does urinate or eliminate at her coaxing, but she does not punish him for urinating in his diapers. [861]

Although mothers may desire bladder control to develop, their statements do not indicate that they conceive of holding the child out as training. In discussing the practice, mothers seemed more concerned about the number of diapers they had to wash or buy. With a great deal of pride one mother reported that she never had to wash a diaper except when it was soiled with feces. Another bragged that she had only had to buy diapers once, and this was for her first child. Treatment of bladder control at a later period raises further doubt that this practice is meant for training purposes. Pertinent here, too, is the belief that children are incapable of learning at this early date. [861]

While a few mothers who have the time to look after their babies continue to avoid wet diapers, most of them eventually abandon the routine and leave it to the child to train himself. When they resume normal activities following childbirth, an older sibling takes over the care of the infant, and the mother does not instruct the older child to continue the practice. Fear for the safety of the baby keeps her from doing so. Once she straps the baby onto the young caretaker's back, she expects him to remain there until she or another adult unstraps him. Teen-age caretakers seldom bother to change wet diapers until it becomes unbearable. If the grandmother is the chief caretaker, however, she will continue the practice. For the greater part of the first year, the infant urinates in his diaper, frequently wetting his caretaker. Just before the child turns one, most mothers will reduce the amount of 863 854 855 863

855 863 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 854 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

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financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!"

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl.

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands.

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

●854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

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copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along.

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles.

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old.

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months

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wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance.

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Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap.

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The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play."

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A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case.

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

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In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings.
[593] They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[155] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy burden from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the
866 plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually
[887] restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

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practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered with a slotted wooden board or loose planks.

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter.

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from eneuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 8 years old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

847 783 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young woman her husband had been awa for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 854 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechev food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 [584] [178] Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defecate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment. This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized. 863 178

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is carried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed. 854

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net. [513]

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to todule along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1] 856 866

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy', "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking. 856

Childhood: Adult Attitudes Okinawans recognize clearly that children are not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Okinawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes 858 [171]

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.